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# Christian Order

## Summary of Contents for January, 1965

SUGAR AND SPICE

*The Editor*

KHRUSHCHEV AND AFTER

*Cyril Clump SJ*

SCUGNIZZO

*Maureen Nyham*

TURK BASHA

*Czeslaw Jesman*

ATROCITIES EXHIBITED

*E L Way*

MYSTICAL BODY OF ANTICHRIST

*Paul Crane SJ*

**CBF**

# Contents

## Page

- 1 EDITORIAL: SANITY *The Editor*
- 2 SCUGNIZZO *Maureen Nyham*
- 11 CURRENT COMMENT:  
SUGAR AND SPICE *The Editor*
- 23 ATROCITIES EXHIBITED *E. L. Way*
- 27 MONTHLY REPORT:  
KHRUSHCHEV AND AFTER *Cyril Clump, S.J.*
- 37 INDUSTRIAL ANGLE:  
START TO THE 100 DAYS *J. M. Jackson*
- 44 ANY QUESTIONS? *William Lawson, S.J.*
- 49 TURK BASHA *Czeslaw Jesman*
- 53 AT WORK AGAINST THE CHURCH *Lei Nei Han*
- 60 BOOK REVIEW *Paul Crane, S.J.*

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# Christian Order

EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

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## Sanity

THE EDITOR

A YEAR ago I found myself teaching a summer school course in social ethics at Gonzaga University in the United States. Comfortably housed in one of the University's attractive student hostels I used to take a look, on my way to the lecture room each morning, at work in progress on another similar hostel placed opposite the one in which I was living. The first time I did so, I noticed a number of large cars drawn up by the building site. I imagined that an inspection was under way; that officials of the company had come down with the architect and others to see how the work was getting on. I thought no more of it and went to my lecture. But the same cars were there next day and the next and the next. It was with a sense of pleasurable shock that I realised the truth; the big cars belonged to the site workers and builders themselves. The worker in the United States is now a man of property. He has been for some time. Not so long ago, men of the Teamsters' Union were told by their officers that a careful investigation of members' net incomes would have to be undertaken before further pay rises in view of the fact that these would place wage-earning members of the union in the supertax class. America, indeed, has a hard core of unemployment that is still too large and the core will increase if new automation policies

are not subjected to reasonable control. Nevertheless, the fact remains that her system of private enterprise, with all its defects, has given the individual worker and his family the highest standard of living of any country in the world.

Disputes in the past between American Capital and Labour have been often bitter and sometimes bloody. In them, however, social philosophies have not been opposed. There has been agreement on fundamentals. The fight has concerned the size of each side's share of the product. Capital and Labour have remained united, however, in their acceptance of the need for the American economy to expand and for their approach to its problems to be free from restrictive thinking. The net result has been a steady increase—unmatched anywhere else in the world—in the prosperity of both.

An example of what could be achieved elsewhere has been provided in this country by the Derbyshire Branch of the National Union of Mineworkers. Some months ago, they made public their decision to call in professional economists to assist them with the investment of union funds amounting to more than a million pounds. Already the Branch owns holiday camps at Skegness and Rhyl and, at the time of the announcement, was considering the purchase of a luxury hotel at Riccione on the Italian Adriatic. These projects, however, accounted for only a small proportion of union funds. Hence, the wise decision to seek professional advice with regard to the remainder.

The men of the Derbyshire Branch of the National Union of Mineworkers number 31,000. Their work is set in a prosperous area. Other branches, however, are similarly placed. What makes the difference in this case? Most of the answer is contained in a statement made by the area treasurer, Mr. H. Street to a *Times* correspondent: "The fact that there has been no strike since 1926 has enabled us to build up to this amount," he said.

In the case of the Derbyshire miners a sane philosophy has led to a sound relationship with management. The result? In concrete terms, a million pounds. Other unions would do well to follow this example.



In this moving article Maureen Nyham tells the story of the bands of scavenging, homeless, thieving, beggar boys of Naples. Mario Borelli tried the life for himself. For a little while, as we read, we can share a fragment of his experience.

## Scugnizzo

MAUREEN NYHAM

HE comes into the world assisted by gentle but unskilled hands, because there is no money for a doctor or a midwife, but for the present his mother need not fear that he will be hungry. For a little while he will be at her breast, while his brothers and sisters are scrabbling in the rubbish-dumps for scraps to eat. Later he, too, will suffer from constant malnutrition, and exposure to dirt and cold and damp. Another child arrives, and in her weakness and fatigue his mother loses the gentleness she had for him, and thrusts him away into the care of an older sister, to be dragged about the reeking, festering alleys, still not quite steady on his legs, and half-naked, even in winter. It is easier that way when there is no running water, and no money to spare for soap.

### *The hovels*

Outside, in the tourists' Naples, there are children who have regular meals and clean beds and warm clothing. But this is the *baracchi*, the place of the hovels, hidden away from the curious eyes of the travellers and the indifferent eyes of the rich residents. Those who have seen the poverty of the East say it is not worse than the filth and degradation of this place, where cardboard and broken tea-chests are manipulated into caricatures of houses, and where often a home may be nothing more than a hollow under a broken wall or a slimy, rat-infested archway. If life is kind this small boy's parents may possess one hideous dark room in a narrow alley, counting themselves for-

fortunate to have the one huge bed in which the whole family will sleep. The boy is too young to be disturbed by the things which are inevitable in this animal-like existence. He is still a piccolo, a little one.

His father has no hope of regular work, and spends the days in scavenging, so he praises the small son when he begins to bring home scraps of food or objects that can be traded for food. If you cannot buy bread then you must get it some other way, and the sooner the boy learns how to beg and how to steal the sooner he will contribute to the family's needs. Neither does he trouble himself when the little one runs the streets instead of going to school. Time spent in the classroom is time lost for scavenging, and in any case there is little prospect of employment for him, even if he gets a full education. When he is a little older he may find occasional jobs, and will wear out his frail, stunted body in running errands, sweeping floors, or carrying loads that are too heavy for him. He must never lose an opportunity to earn a few lire, for there are bad times when there is no money at all coming in. Then the women must play their part, while the father looks on. A daughter whom he loves, and would protect with his life, goes out with them, and he says nothing. There is nothing to be said when it is a straight choice between chastity and starvation.

### *Escape from 'home'*

In time the boy comes to see that his chief significance is his skill as a breadwinner, and to realise that though he may work from early morning to late at night his life is not going to change. His parents love him, because he is their son, but they are too desperate to wonder what he feels, what he thinks, if he has any dreams. He grows older, and there is only one dream for him, to escape from the filth and the screaming babies, the exhaustion of labouring all day long, and the torment of the nights spent in the one bed. It is not hunger that will drive him away. It is the intolerable physical and emotional pressure. He is never at peace, he does not know what it is to be alone, and he is no longer a child.

So he takes to the streets, and because he cannot survive alone he joins one of the bands of scavenging boys, the *scugnizzi*. He is already an accomplished thief and a beggar of long experience. Now he learns the necessary trades of the *scugnizzi*, how to act as a runner for the smuggling rings, how to tout for the women in the brothels, how to offer himself when he has no other means of getting money or food. He joins in the vicious gang-fights, and learns the arts of violence. With his companions he defies the world, and at last he has a kind of freedom.

He sleeps under stalls in the market-place, or in corners of the *baracchi* out of the wind; sometimes he finds a grating over a kitchen and sleeps with the illusion of warmth. But his dream of security begins to fade. The older boys, who give him their coats when he is cold, and steal for him when he is sick, move away to the company of men; other boys are caught by the police and removed to corrective institutions; the small weak ones cannot keep up with the gang, and they, too, disappear. So he goes on, day after day, in the same wild fruitless search for safety, in a world in which he is always hungry.

### *Abandoned*

It has been like this in the *bassi* of Naples since the war. True, by 1950 the worst of the war-scars had been healed, or at least covered, but the organised bands of boys, orphaned, illegitimate, abandoned, were already beyond the reach of normal authority. They are still there, yet many well-fed inhabitants of Naples will tell you that they have never seen the *baracchi*, that they have only heard of the *scugnizzi*. The tales, their tone suggests, must surely be exaggerated. Their incredulity is not necessarily false. How many respectable Britons have any idea of the reality of life in the slums of London, or Liverpool or Glasgow? But there were those who did know the plight of the urchins, and had power to help them. Engrossed in their own ambitions, their own search for comfort, they turned their faces away. Someone else would have to worry about the *scugnizzi*; the State would have to do something about them. But the State was too busy building a new



Italy, trying to repair the ravages of war, and thousands of American dollars which poured in for the express purpose of helping forward this programme of rehabilitation, found their way into unscrupulous private pockets or into the bank accounts of astute business concerns. After all, there's no money to be got out of worrying about the physical welfare of slum boys who don't belong to anyone. As for their souls, that was for the Church. The priests should be doing something about that. But the priests of post-Fascist Italy were too busy also. Clearly it was the parents' responsibility. They should keep their children at home and look after them properly. So, while those who should have cared did nothing, the *scugnizzi* went on existing like small wild animals, or, if they were not competent thieves, they died, and that was not important either, in the larger scheme of things.

The Salvation Army workers who went into Naples in the worst of the post-war years made magnificent efforts to alleviate the appalling suffering they found there, but their resources were limited, and they were hindered by the simple fact that they were strangers. The Neopolitan is not like other Italians. Greek, Arab, French and Spanish blood are fused in him, and he lives in a strange enclosed world of his own which no stranger can hope to penetrate. It is no accident that the man who finally broke through to the *scugnizzi* is himself a product of the slums of Naples, a child of the *bassi*.

### *Mario Borelli*

In 1950 Cardinal Ascalesi of Naples, horrified by what he had learned, surrendered to the passionate pleading of a young priest, Mario Borelli, who wanted to take off his soutane, dress in rags, and become a *scugnizzo*. This was no extravagant, theatrical gesture. Borelli knew that no stranger could approach these urchins; he also knew that the curious love-hate relationship between these people and the Church would make it impossible for him to enter the *bassi* dressed as a priest. This ambivalence goes deeper than the normal healthy resentment of authority. In a strange, tormented way, these people do not want the



priest to become involved in their lives; the closer he comes to them the more he appears as a man, and so he is less of a priest. They kiss his hand, but he is not for their world, nor they for his. Don Borelli would always be a man apart, but Mario, the *scugnizzo*, could come close to them and prove his friendship. Only then could he attempt to raise them from their physical and spiritual degradation.

For weeks he shared the life of a small gang of urchins, enduring all that they endured, and what it cost him in personal suffering only he and perhaps Father Spada, his friend and counsellor, can tell. But as his anger and pity grew, so his determination hardened. "There were moments," he says, "when I wished for a voice loud enough to drown all the noise of the nightly traffic so as to tell the world that I was tired of this misery; and for the strength of Hercules to knock down all those who denied me the necessities of life. If anyone does not believe me, let him try the life of a *scugnizzo* for himself". He learned, during this period, that sometimes a *scugnizzo* is driven to suicide, and he is still haunted by the death of a nine-year-old boy, Carlucciello, who drowned himself because he could not bear to go on living.

### *House of Urchins*

Father Spada had taken over a disused church, the Materdei, and together they prepared it, fashioning as best they could the place which was to become known as the *Cassa dello Scugnizzi*, the House of the Urchins. At last Father Borelli, dressed in his priest's clothes, went to meet his urchins, and to appeal to them to come to the house he had found for them. He offered them only two things, a meal and a bed. He was to be a priest to them from now on, but he made no attempt to speak of spiritual things. Instead he gave them food and saw them lie down on straw-filled sacks on the stone floor. In the morning, awkward and suspicious, they left him, but that night they came creeping back to be fed.

"They always leave", he says, when he speaks of the urchins at the Casa. "Almost always. They can't adjust themselves to routine. They can't understand that this

is really their own place. So they leave and go back to the streets, and a few days later they come back because this is better than the streets, and gradually they get used to the idea that this is home". The secret of his extraordinary success lies here. If you take an urchin from the streets which have been his home for four or five years and put him into a strange institution, his first reaction is one of panic. He must get out, where he can run free again. The two priests and their tiny band of helpers watch him go, and make no move at all. When he returns he is not threatened or coaxed. He is free to come or go as a son of the house. It is because he himself has chosen the Casa in preference to the streets that he begins to feel for it, and to work for its good.

There is no luxury here. The paint is peeling from the doors, and the walls of the diningroom are covered partly with newspaper and partly with strips of embossed plastic. One day the newspaper will disappear, but the plastic can be bought only when there is a little money left over for 'extras' and this rarely happens. Father Borelli is content with the small Papal grant he has, pointing out that there are, all over the world, causes as urgent and deserving as his own, and that Papal funds are stretched to cover as many as possible. His own portion, he says, is fair. But for the rest he has to beg.

In winter the iron beds in the dormitories are bright with hand-knitted blankets, gifts from those who have heard his appeals. The *scugnizzo* would like to have toys, but he needs a blanket. He also needs the small locker that stands beside his bed. It is battered and shabby, but it holds his own private possessions, equally battered and of no interest to anyone in the world but himself. Father Borelli counts this as an essential, together with the tiny courtyard which serves as a football "field", and the playroom which is, in fact, the place where that first hungry, suspicious gang slept. The cook is one of that gang; in his kitchen, presiding over old yet spotless pots and pans, he is proud to recall that time, and to claim that he knew "Mario" before he knew Father Borelli.

## *Daily Life*

Every morning the *piccoli*, boys of six to twelve years, are sent off to school, dressed in clean uniform smocks. When they return in the evening they have a meal, do homework, play the favourite games of all small boys, and go to bed. It is the usual routine for children of this age. The older boys, whose ages range from twelve to twenty, work in the junk-yard behind the Casa, or at occasional jobs outside. They come home dirty, tired, and satisfied, in time to help the *piccoli* with their homework, or to relax in front of the television set. It is the life of all ordinary boys.

To the superficial observer the story ends here. The unwanted urchins have found a home, and will live happily ever after. But they are not, after all, ordinary boys. Only Father Borelli knows from what depths they have been rescued, how they have been used by the world. The marks are still on them, and always will be. Their innocence is gone, and nothing can give that back to them. "They are not boys, they are not men", Father Borelli says. "They are both, and we have to remember this".

## *Scars of vice*

When undisciplined, corrupted boys are brought together under one roof inevitable questions spring to mind, but the two priests are quietly confident. The *scugnizzi* do not steal from each other; it is against the code of the streets. They have never troubled to be clean because they have never had the facilities for cleanliness; now they have running water and soap and clean towels, and they can take a pride in themselves at last. Many have been physically corrupted, but in the Casa it is not necessary to offer oneself in order to get a few lire to buy food, and with most the habit dies easily. There are a few who have a deeper compulsion, but Father Borelli faces this problem with quiet understanding. No *scugnizzo* is too depraved to be loved. His matter-of-fact assumption is that no bad boy is incapable of growing into a good man. "That boy," he will explain, "is fifteen. Now he need not go to the brothels because he is lonely or bitter.



He knows now that it is possible to wait until marriage. You can't expect him to learn the discipline of chastity overnight, but he will try". He does not condemn the women who have contributed to the boy's corruption. He knows their suffering too, because he has seen it, and constantly he speaks of them with the deepest charity. "I say 'bad women', but do not let us be superficial, for none of us has the right to stand up in a pulpit and call anyone bad, least of all from a pulpit above the people. Each of these innocent souls that wear the scar of vice upon their surface must be deeply observed; if one has the courage to look into their very depths one cannot have the courage to condemn".

### *A searing memory*

Sometimes boys return to the Casa bringing with them another hungry, unwanted urchin; sometimes a laconic message comes from the police regarding a boy who is "in moral danger". Will the Casa take him in? Sometimes Father Borelli stumbles across a *scugnizzo* in a corner of the *bassi*, another child whom nobody wants, and nobody will trouble to feed. If he is very small and very hungry, he has to be carried back to the Casa. And still Mario Borelli is not satisfied that he has done enough, because as yet he cannot ensure that when his boys grow old enough to leave they can go out into a society where such things as the *baracchi* have ceased to exist. He cannot forget the *scugnizzo* who deliberately walked into the sea because he could not endure life any longer, and he hammers mercilessly at the conscience of the society that allowed it to happen. "Who is to blame?" he asks. "Who was it that killed this innocent boy? Carlucciello, always gaily going towards the sea, and the hands of all of us combined to drown him—the gloved hand of the lady, the gentle hand of the woman, the caloused hand of the workman, the high hand of authority, the plump hand of the business man, the nervous hand of the industrialist, the blessing hand of the priest, my hand—As for Carlucciello, I am carrying him in my arms forever, a boy only nine years old".

## CURRENT COMMENT

In these notes, Father Crane concludes his account of a journey made, in the summer of 1963, from Mexico to British Guiana via West Indian islands. He finds space to consider, with great sympathy, the future of Britain's remaining tiny colonial possessions.

# Sugar and Spice

THE EDITOR

THERE had been quite a delay at San Juan airport. The Nuncio was off on a short hop to the conference of university rectors for the opening of which he had flown to Puerto Rico the day before. I had to catch a plane for Trinidad where there was a tight programme of meetings waiting for me — fourteen, if I remember rightly, in five days. Whilst we waited for our separate planes we strolled up and down the airport foyer. As we did so, university representatives from Latin America began to arrive. They were bound for the same conference as the Nuncio and were taking the same local plane as he was. They were called first. Then my turn came and I went down the walk-way to the gate where the BWIA Viscount was waiting. There was something of a delay. Then we were away, bound for Trinidad with stops at Antigua and Barbados.

### A Cup of Tea

What I remember best about that flight is the tea they brought me. It was British Army stuff, strong and steamy, the kind of thing one ought to drink out of an enamel mug. I finished every drop of it. You see, I had been without a decent cup of tea for weeks, really. The Americans have not yet learnt the art. Their tea is at the standard of our coffee-making. I know nothing lower

than that. The Mexicans don't drink it. During my stay in Jamaica, I had enjoyed the hospitality of American Jesuits. The sisters who looked after the Nuncio's house in Santo Domingo made wonderful coffee, but remained unacquainted with the mysteries of brewing tea. The same applied to the household of the Archbishop of San Juan. It was late August now. Since the end of May, when I had left England for the States, I had not known what it meant to see tea pouring hot and strong from the spout of a pot. I had done my best, during my six weeks' stay in Spokane, to cope with those dreadful little bags. I had tried putting two in a cup of almost boiling water; but it had never been the same. Now, tea was brought to me the way I wanted it—hot and strong out of a lovely pot — by a charming West Indian hostess. Only then, perhaps, did I realise how much I had missed it. The first taste was incredibly good; the second even better. I have listened in the past to some harsh things said about BWIA. Since the day they gave me my first real cup of tea in weeks, I am disinclined to listen to a single word against them. All of which goes to show how irrational we are, how desperately hard it is in so many things to produce an objective judgment.

### **The Little Colonies**

The way to Trinidad is through Antigua and Barbados. They are two places that make me wonder. Each is a colonial possession of Great Britain. Neither is viable as an independent unit. Is it essential that they should have independence? This sort of question comes to me every time the existence of these and other remaining, similar colonial possessions of Great Britain is brought to my mind. The policy at the moment is for the formation of an Eastern Caribbean Federation to which independence will then be granted. Six islands, including Barbados and Antigua, have endorsed it. I still doubt whether it will easily succeed. An earlier post-war attempt at a larger West Indian Federation, which included Trinidad, Jamaica and Barbados, failed largely as the result of a situation, which gave the small islands a degree of political



power that was disproportionate to their economic strength. The larger islands saw themselves as compelled to support the rest. They would have none of it and broke the Federation which was, in any event, something of a forced growth and without strong roots. Now, we are told, there must be an Eastern Caribbean Federation. I wonder why.

### **Selfishness at Work**

I am afraid the reason is only too clear. It is not magnanimity on Britain's part. The desire is simply to get rid of what are thought of as useless possessions. There is an indecent haste about Britain's present flight from the remains of empire, which makes nonsense of the opinion, sedulously fostered by the Macmillan Government, that its basic cause is a burning desire to confer freedom on subject peoples. I can understand the need for so doing in the case of Britain's major colonial possessions. On pragmatic grounds, at least, it was right policy to bring them to independence, though it would be wrong to imagine that the process has resulted in any increase of personal freedom. This, on the contrary, has been in most cases considerably diminished.

What I am referring to in this context, however, are Britain's little colonial possessions, so many of which are neither economically nor politically viable, nor have any prospect of so being. It is these that we are now anxious to get rid of and it is hypocritical of government to suggest that our main motive for so doing is anything other than a selfish one. We are anxious to cast the little territories aside because we can no longer be bothered with their interests. Yet, there was a time when they were prized possessions. Must history record of us that we junked our friends when we found it in our interests to do so? It is beginning to look that way.

### **Britain's Obligation**

Britain's obligation in this matter of the little colonies is twofold. It is to consult, in the first place, not our interests, but theirs and, then, whilst doing so, to see them

as validly expressed not necessarily in the speeches of demagogues, but through an objective listing of representative opinion. Neither should we hold out to the little colonies the sole alternatives of colonial status on the one hand or independence on the other. If we were serious in our concern for their best interests and anxious to take into account their desire for continued association with us, we would have little difficulty in according them a status that allowed for both. There was a time when Malta, before independence, might have been offered the status of a State of the Realm and might well have been content with it. A very large degree of self-government would have been hers under a British governor with greatly reduced powers and with Great Britain responsible ultimately for foreign affairs, defence and finance. Such an arrangement, sincerely and carefully made, would have met the claim for recognised equality of status implicit in every demand for independence. At the same time, it would have ensured that degree of economic and political viability without which independence itself means very little. To me it was tragic to hear a friend from Mauritius speak wistfully the other day of independence for his country in eighteen months. He must have known the whole operation represented no more than a farce. The same applies to similar propositions that will come up no doubt with regard to the Seychelles, the Gilbert Islands, Bermuda, Gibraltar and St. Helena. Were we to devote to securing a proud future under the British flag for the inhabitants of our remaining tiny colonies half the energy at present expended on the process of their disposal, we would be doing our real duty by them. This, however, is just what we are not doing. At present, our main concern is not their best interests, but the selfish satisfaction of our own. The process becomes nauseating when presented not for what it is, but as an unparalleled act of magnanimity. In this respect, I believe, history will deal very hard with the Government of Harold Macmillan.

### **The Least to be Done**

These thoughts were mine when we touched down at

tiny Antigua with the Union Jack flying bravely over its few delightful acres, and Barbados, a veritable little England, with replicas of the crown jewels bravely displayed in the airport's charming lounge. These people, like others similarly so placed, I said to myself, are content. Why, in the name of God, not recognise this and lend our best efforts to making them more so? The cost measured in financial terms will prove a tiny fraction only of what we spend on our health service at home; this, quite apart from the fact that obligations to one's friends should not be measured in financial terms. Moreover, should the inhabitants of Britain's tiny colonies not be free to choose their own future? If, with dignity, they choose, as the people of Gibraltar obviously have chosen, to remain associated with Britain under colonial rule, should they not be allowed to do so? What right have we to force them from us in the name of a shoddy liberalism whose protagonists are without love for people, but concerned only with the advance of already outmoded theories. Not all want independence. The least we can do — the least, indeed, a liberal can do on his own philosophy—is to grant to those who are of this mind that which they have freely chosen.

### **Voice from Fiji**

In this context, a view of colonialism, recently expressed by a Fijian whose people have no wish for independence, is worthy of note:

"Colonialism is a scare word which is supposed to signify oppression and injustice and evil. In the case of Fiji, Colonialism means, quite simply, the system of administration by the British Colonial Office through a governor appointed by the Queen. It means law-making by the Legislative Council and advice on policy matters by the Executive Council. It means the machinery of government centred on Suva and spread throughout the Colony.

"It means the elections which are to take place next year on a much enlarged roll.

"It means the freedom of speech which enables the



people of Fiji to speak their minds and, if they wish, to criticise those in authority without being in danger, as citizens of some of the independent countries are, of being arrested and imprisoned without trial and probably beaten up.

"It means gifts totalling some £5,000,000 by the taxpayers of Britain to the people of Fiji—gifts that have given us wharves and roads and schools and hospitals and better radio and telephone communications and, in the making of these things, jobs for thousands of Fiji people.

"For Fiji, Colonialism means the British system of justice which presumes a man to be innocent until he is proved—and proved beyond doubt—to be guilty, and is then, and then only, liable to punishment.

"All these things, to us in Fiji, are Colonialism.

"Cakobau and his fellow chiefs deliberately and proudly chose this brand of Colonialism as a way of government of Fiji.

"Don't imagine I am claiming perfection, or unfailing wisdom, in the administration of Fiji in the past ninety years, or to-day. The country has been governed by men, not angels.

"But the fuss that is made by the noisy demagogues about oppression and injustice and callous exploitation of colonial people is, to us in Fiji, completely unrealistic; it sounds just plain silly . . ."

At a time when so many bricks are being thrown at the British, I may be forgiven, perhaps, for quoting a few words of praise and for being grateful to their author. History will not speak ill of Britain's colonising effort: what will come under fire will be the manner of her disengagement from colonial obligations. One can write that and, at the same time, approve, as I do, of the grant of independence to so many former colonies.

I was to come back to Barbados for twenty-four hours on my way back home from British Guiana to London via New York. I would like to explain here why the stopover was necessary.

## **New Venture in Barbados**

A benefactor had offered a house on the island, in need of adaptation and capital furnishment, but said to be in very good condition and admirably suited for conversion into a centre for leadership training to serve the West Indian islands and British Guiana. I took my look at the house on the way home. The beginnings of what might be a hurricane were about at the time; nothing much, but a sound in the wind during the night of my stay which was menacing, and squally rain the next morning. The view I had of the house, therefore, was not perfect. I saw enough, however, to realise that here we had the beginnings of what could be turned into the heart of a great enterprise; a Claver House for the West Indies and British Guiana. Why not? The need was great, the chance here. The thing to do was to take it. I did so then and there. On the spot, the most generous gift of the house was accepted with great gratitude, provided Superiors agreed and Bishops gave their consent. Both did at Rome two months later. There was much encouragement as well. The pressing nature of the need was recognised. British Guiana was in desperate plight. West Indian islands were beginning to boil as Castro's influence spread. Under the circumstances, Rome was only too ready to give me the green light. As I flew home from these interviews, I knew that I had reached not the beginning of the end, but the end of the beginning. The real work lay ahead of me. I knew that very well.

## **Fools or Wise Men?**

First, we had to halve our forces at Claver House in London where leadership training to young African laymen has been given for the past four years. This meant that my faithful support and mainstay, the man who, for twelve years, had stood by me through thick and thin, had now got to go. I refer, of course, to Father C. M. Keane, S.J. Off you go, I had to say when I got back home from Rome. We both knew it had to be. This vital new work had to take the best available man and that could be only himself. Father Keane went off in six weeks' time to get

things started in Barbados, with a view to opening the new centre for operations in January, 1965. When he went we had towards the cost of the operation exactly 3,000 U.S. dollars. That was all. It had come from two American benefactors. We knew the cost of mounting the operation at Canefield House, as the new centre was called, would be many times that. Exactly how much it would be or where we would get the money from we did not know. We decided, nevertheless, to begin. Fools? By the standards of the business world the answer can only be yes. By those of God's providence, no. If you place your trust here, you soon realise that the only thing to do is to start. Get on with it and trust God. It is the only thing to do and this is what we did. We were fortunate in having no committee to nag us and hold us back. Had this been the case, we would still be puttering about with plans, spending most of our time writing futile letters, sorting out the few good suggestions from the great pile of the futile and the bad. Meanwhile, nothing would have been done. Instead, we started. Where, then, are we now?

### **Where We Stand Now**

At the time of writing, we are about half-way through the work of adapting the house to suit the needs of twenty-four students, fixing quarters for the teaching and domestic staff, turning a barn into a chapel. Additionally, Canefield House has to be furnished, supplied with a good library and provided with transport. The carefully estimated cost of the whole operation is £18,000. This is considered most reasonable: no futilities are attached to the venture. We know exactly what we are doing because we know what we want the house for: we are using the experience gained at Claver House. So far, a few generous benefactors have supplied me with £6,000 and 4,000 U.S. dollars. An additional £2,000 has been borrowed. I am left with the outstanding need for a sum of approximately £12,000 to set the place up and get it clear of debt. As building, at the moment, is outrunning money, we may be forced to a temporary suspension of operations through lack of funds. I hope not. The situation in British Guiana, as I know



from first-hand, is not good. Jagan should be defeated at the forthcoming elections in December, but the real work in the country has still to be done and dedicated leaders are essential to see it through. It is precisely these whom, with the help of God, we intend to produce at Canefield House. Neither is it only a case of British Guiana. Under their placid exterior, some of the West Indian islands are simmering. Throughout the Caribbean, Castro-type Communism is making inroads from its Cuban base. (Spanish as well as English-speaking islands are affected: that is why we shall run each year a Spanish as well as an English-speaking course from Canefield House.) The ultimate answer to its depredations can only be in terms of a social revolution led by dedicated Christians. For this work, Canefield House is as essential for the Caribbean as Claver House is for Africa. As a result of experience gained working at the latter, Father Keane and I feel we have the formula that counts. We know very well that, just as Africa's problems can only be solved through a dedicated indigenous elite, so those of British Guiana and the West Indies can only be solved ultimately in the same fashion. The present anxiety of Father Keane and myself, therefore, is to get dedicated young West Indians and Guianese into action without delay. There is very little time. We believe that we understand this work. We have the men laid on to do the teaching. They are chosen because they know that dedication is the factor that counts for most in the whole of this operation. Without it, the rest is futile. Under the circumstances, it would be sad if we had to postpone the Barbados operation for the want of £12,000. The delay could cripple the work at a critical time. I have just done a sum. Two hundred and forty people, each giving £50, could solve our problem. Four hundred and eighty who each gave £25 could do the same. I leave it at that.

### **Lovely Tobago**

I called this article "Sugar and Spice". When I did so, there was more than a childhood jingle running through my mind. The sugar is there in the West Indies and

Barbados is full of it. Canefield House takes its name from the sugar plantations that surround it: the rustling of the breeze through acres of standing cane sends you to sleep at night. Trinidad, too, has its large quota. So, also, if I remember rightly has lovely little Tabago. I cannot be absolutely sure. I was last there in 1957. The occasion was a very hard bout of lecturing in Trinidad. I remember the score very well—thirty lectures all over the island in thirty days, and in great heat. I was to go from Trinidad to Grenada to spend three days lecturing there. By a fortunate coincidence my scheduled stay tied in with the consecration of the Right Reverend Justin Field, O.P., as first Bishop of St. George. The whole island would be at the consecration. Lectures, therefore, were out of the question. I found myself suddenly in a wonderful position: three whole days with nothing to do. It had never happened before. Never has it happened since. I took the gift of the gods and hopped the first plane for Tobago. The flight took twenty minutes, low over a bright blue sea in an old Dakota. We came down on a coral runway fringed with palm trees. I shall never forget that lovely run-in. The nearest approach I know to it was Zanzibar. I use the past tense deliberately with reference to that unfortunate island. The life was pogrommed out of it a year ago.

Tobago has everything, I think, that could fill my heart. A peace that enfolds you, great beauty and quiet, bathing that may be the best in the world. That, of course, was seven years ago. It may be that now the tourists have taken over with great lumps of concrete and glass, passing for hotels, fouling up the whole place. Tragically, Tobago was badly bashed last year by hurricane Flora, which I have described earlier in this piece as giving me the tiniest whiff of its vicious ill-temper when I stopped over at Barbados for a single night. I can only hope that the island has now recovered from the catastrophe of fifteen months ago; that greenness, at least, has grown over the brutal scars seared into its surface; that its people, their tears wiped away, are occupied again with the easy round of their placid existence.

## **Battles Far Away**

Not all Tobago's scars have come from nature's violence. Man, too, has made his contribution, for the island was once a prize fought over most bitterly by English and French. I stood, when I was there seven years ago, and looked down on Bloody Bay where six hundred troops of both nations cut themselves to pieces on the shining sand and laced the sea with their blood. The old English redoubt stands just above the bay, its guns skilfully sited to command the approach from the sea. Neither was Tobago the only island to be fought for. Most had their share of skirmish and battle. Tobacco, sugar, rum; the islands were prized for these products in a mercantilist age. They provided invaluable bases, too, at a time when the reality of Britain's power lay in its strength at sea. Nelson's Harbour at Antigua meant something a hundred and fifty years ago.

## **Dominicans and Trinidad**

Trinidad, during my journey in the summer of 1963, was my last stop before Guiana. I had work to do on the island. My good friends, the Irish Dominicans, overwhelmed me with hospitality and, as usual, took me to themselves. They had set up a programme of lectures and discussions which occupied all my time and took me not only to most parts of Port-of-Spain, the capital, but out and around the island as well. There were, in addition, radio talks and a TV interview, which followed a televised send-off of the Trinidad ladies hockey team on its way to the United States. At one moment, I thought I was going to be landed by mistake into the middle of that; but all went well. The girls were left to show off their charms, whilst I watched them from the comfort of an armchair on the side. Then, my interviewer laid hold of me and we gave the island's viewers twenty minutes on the prospect now confronting newly independent Africa.

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Seeing too many photographs of torture and violence can thicken our skins and harden our hearts. Newspaper editors should beware of lessening our moral repugnance to torture, or they may hasten its reintroduction as an instrument of government, and as a judicial procedure.

## Atrocities Exhibited

E. L. WAY

RECENTLY we have had photographs in the newspapers which can only be described as revolting. They have depicted the torture of Viet Cong suspects which filled us with horror and indignation. The *Daily Telegraph*, the *Mirror*, and the *Sun* have shown a man, trussed up like a fowl, being lowered headfirst into a huge waterpot. In its colour supplement for September the *Daily Telegraph* produced two pictures: the first showed Viet-nameese soldiers holding down a suspect, "ready to force water down his nose and throat", and in the second the same man was shown silent and steadfast in spite of "three hours of water torture and beatings". The injuries and bruises around his lips and chin were clearly visible. But so far the worst photograph showed the cutting into a man's stomach in the *Sun*, and the agonised gurglings of the tortured victim were almost audible. That such sickening brutality, such fiendish and inhuman conduct is possible is terrifying enough, but that a newspaperman should be permitted to stand by and photograph it for the press of the world is beyond understanding and belief. Yet there it was before one's eyes.

### Contempt

That permission could be given to take such a photograph can prove only one thing: and that is that the war having gone on for so long, with only a change of leading actors between the scenes, the people on the spot have given up



hope of it ever ending. Knowing that the outside world can't or won't end it, they have nothing but contempt for the public opinion of the world. As a result we have this picture of the tin-hatted soldier, his rifle slung over his shoulder, holding the knife with a surgeon's delicate precision while cutting into the unanesthetized flesh of the Communist guerilla. To keep the record straight, and to prove impartiality, there have also been photographs of a South Viet-nameese soldier stripped to the waist lying dead in the sun. And a pace away from him an American also lying dead while all around the guns blazed.

### *Both Sides*

In our childhood we hear such innocent riddles as "When is a door not a door?" In our manhood we are more likely to hear the cynical query: "When is an atrocity not an atrocity?" And the answer seems to be that an atrocity is not classed as such so long as it is committed on the enemy. We knew, of course, that the Communist Viet Cong forces beheaded and tortured their captured opponents. What we are now learning is that Communist guerillas, or suspects, are also tortured. A war between the giants, America and China, has resulted in a stalemate. No lasting progress is made by either side. The terrorised population forced by day to work or fight for the South Viet-nameese are by night used for the same purposes by the Viet Cong. And this has gone on since the Christmas of 1946! The people existing under such conditions must heartily curse both sides. And there is not much hope of this grim and loathsome butchery ending in the predictable future. The Americans counsel against cruelty and heedless brutality but are not often listened to. They cannot withdraw without dishonour. As for the Chinese they are intoxicated with a belief in victory: a victory over the "arch imperialist forces" of the United States, trapped on a field of battle of its own selection, going down in disaster with its slavish supporters in a war of 'national liberation'. One does not need to write to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation to learn of the unending agony of the people of Vietnam.

### *To what purpose?*

But then why publish these photographs of atrocities? Apart from making us despair of human nature for a few hours what does the publication of these photographs accomplish? We are thousands of miles from the scene of this dirty and horrible war. We can do absolutely nothing to help. Anymore than we could do anything to help the Chinese before the second world war when the papers were publishing photographs of the Japanese soldiers using their Chinese prisoners for bayonet practice. Nor could we help the victims, said to number millions, of that fat, complacent, smiling butcher, Mao Tse-tung, when we were shown photographs of public executions of peasant 'capitalists' in his country. To a reader who protested to the *Sun* that the photograph of the "Vietnam guerilla being 'worked over' with a knife" should not have been published, as it made her feel physically sick, the *Sun* replied: "We agree . . . that the picture was shocking. But the horror of war cannot be brought home by suppressing such evidence". This is the usual, the expected answer. But is it satisfactory? Does any adult living in 1964 need to be told that war is horrible? Those who have lived long enough have either taken part in it or have hidden in shelters like rats while the bombers droned overhead all night dropping their incendiaries or block-busters. Have we not seen the corpses piled high in places like Belson? Have we not seen on television, film, and in photographs enough horror to last us for the remainder of our lives?

### *Ostriches*

It could be argued that a plea for fewer photographs of atrocities was a plea to let us live comfortably, with our heads in the sand, not knowing or caring what devilry was going on beyond our land of flourishing parish pumps. And to be honest there is some truth in this charge. Who wants to have his emotions assaulted over the breakfast table with reminders of such fearful evil? The effect is such that hours afterwards, seeing a golf course with its fringe of trees tinted with autumn gold, just as one was

about to offer a prayer of gratitude for such beauty one saw again, in the mind's eye, the knife entering the flesh of the Communist guerilla. The beauty of the scene seemed a mockery, and one shuddered. For a brief moment one gained an insight, a feeble insignificant intimation of the agony He endured when overcome by the sins of all mankind. My God, my God why hast thou forsaken the world? The desire to live drains away, like blood from a deep wound, and the mind craves for sleep—for oblivion . . . Next day one is extremely angry with the newspaper!

### *Feelings Petrified*

Is this just or reasonable? I think it is. And the chief reason is this: there is a very real danger that by frequently seeing torture and violence exhibited in newspaper, film, and television we are very likely to have our feelings blunted. There may come a time when we have seen the photograph of one atrocity too many, and we just shrug our shoulders and turn to the Woman's page. The reader who complained to the *Sun* hadn't reached this point of saturation. She simply said that she would be afraid to open the paper in the future lest she see something equally terrible, and be unable to free her mind from the gruesome image for hours. And what she wrote had the ring of truth in it. That is exactly what I felt. Why should we be subjected to such anguish to make a photographer's holiday? (One wonders how he could have held the camera steady. Had he seen too much? Had his feelings petrified? To be fair to him—or her—we must admit that he had a job to do, a terrible job, and he did it. It would be unjust to assume that he was a hardened and callous brute.)

### *Fests*

That we have already reached this stage of saturation may be assumed by the newspaper editors. Perhaps they don't care. But there are straws in the wind. In the *Mirror* there was a cartoon the other day which featured four people looking at holiday films taken by a cine-camera. The caption read "Oh, yes—this is the bit where some

bandits tortured Cynthia". Are we mistaken in thinking that this was something more than a joke in bad taste? Something more than a variation of the old chestnut, the subject of innumerable cartoons, of the missionary being boiled alive in an enormous cooking pot while jovial cannibals prance around performing ridiculous dances? After all, these jests against missionaries are only accepted because we know that the last missionary to be cooked and eaten suffered and died a long time ago. But that contemporary torture should be accepted as a subject for jest is surely a sign that our skins are thickening, our hearts hardening, and our minds are being coarsened. (We are not suggesting that missionaries are now exempt from the effects of the worst disease of human nature. The Congo is too fresh in our minds for that. But they are not boiled alive.)

### *Torture*

In his *Elizabethan Commentary* written in 1942, Hilaire Belloc asked the startling question: "Will the use of torture revive?" As is plain from the rest of the chapter, he meant torture as an instrument of government, and as a judicial procedure for the establishment of certain evidence. And he answered prudently that while no man can foretell the future, nevertheless "By all the precedents of action and reaction in the past it is due to return and perhaps fairly soon". He also observed "The use of torture has been abandoned in modern times, not because it was found uncertain and futile, but because it was increasingly repugnant to the moral sense of modern times". In this article it is suggested that the mass media, and particularly the newspaper photograph, by lessening the moral repugnance to torture will hasten its re-introduction. At all costs we must not develop thick skins. Familiarity breeds contempt at first and then total indifference.

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## MONTHLY REPORT

Moscow listed 29 charges against Khrushchev. Fr. Clump suggests that his downfall was due to his inability to heal the breach between Communism and Nationalism. The cause of his failure was not personal, though he had obvious shortcomings as a leader, but lies in the false doctrine of Communism which he tried to apply.

### Khrushchev and After

CYRIL CLUMP, S.J.

KHRUSHCHEV is out! As the word went round the world, thinking men naturally asked, "What next?" Communism and what it stands for is too important for anyone but the naïve to believe that the fall from power of the man who heads the Party Line is an event of small consequence. Nevertheless, the Christian conscience will fervently hope that Khrushchev will not fall a victim to the blood and terror of the very ruthless machine which he himself has maintained, and which, in the past, dealt death to all who defected from the Party Line. We say this not because the Christian conscience agrees with Communism or Khrushchev's ideologies, but simply because, Communist or not, Khrushchev, in common with all men shares that human dignity, albeit degraded by Communism, which is God's gift to mankind.

#### Interpreting Soviet Happenings

The rumblings in Moscow still go on, and it is hardly likely that anyone, except a few in the Politburo, will ever come to know why and how Khrushchev proved himself an unworthy Communist. Nevertheless if we wish to interpret Soviet events as they unfold, it is essential to remember that little help may be had when we confine ourselves

to any information that is both explicit and official, simply because such information will not be forthcoming, and if it does it will inevitably be one-sided. This is especially true when there is a question of disagreement among top-ranking communist leaders. Thus, we know to-day, that during Stalin's lifetime there was keen rivalry between Zhdanov and Malenkov, and later between Malenkov and Khrushchev, but even to-day, there is little reliable information on this subject. Nor can much help be expected from private statements made by Soviet officials to Westerners, as such statements are usually made for immediate tactical purposes, and often the so-called "usually reliable source" turns out to be unusually unreliable! Hence, it appears that the only sound way to penetrate the mystery of Khrushchev's downfall, would be to study the pattern of inter-Party struggles which have beset the Soviet hierarchy since the days of Lenin. Not that it is necessary to trace these struggles, in detail, from the days when Lenin held power. Thus, the signs of a possible clash between K and his opponents in the Party Praesidium was glimpsed by the stony silence of these men, when in public discussions, Khrushchev put forward his plans for the reorganisation of industry in 1957.

### **The Working of Soviet Democratic Centralism**

If the Soviet principle of Democratic Centralism, gives the Soviet Praesidium a monolithic unity and strength which far surpasses that which obtains in any Cabinet of a Parliamentary system of government, it also places ruthless power in the hands of the First Secretary who rules the Praesidium. An example would best illustrate this. In 1924 Lenin left the destiny of world communism in the hands of a Party Praesidium of seven men. All were tested and tried communists. When the inter-Party struggle ended Stalin emerged victorious and soon after the other six died violent deaths. Once Stalin had established himself as the First Secretary of the Praesidium, he was easily able to deal with the other members of that body and dispose of such leading communists as Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev. In fact, the very structure of the Communist

Party, at that time, made it possible for Stalin to be the absolute dictator he proved himself to be. Working through the Orgburo, the internal Party police, Stalin was able to supervise every move of all members of the Praesidium and protect himself against any attack. This gave Stalin immense power and enabled him to indulge in the crimes for which he was condemned by Khrushchev at the now famous 20th Party Congress. Did Khrushchev in condemning Stalin for the use of the Orgburo open the way to his own downfall?

### **Khrushchev's Struggle for Power.**

Khrushchev's road to power was not strewn with roses, roses all the way! Stalin died in March, 1953 and like Lenin before him, left a Party Praesidium split by rival factions. Collective leadership was confronted by the Party, the police and administrative controls which often overlapped and penetrated each other. The first challenge came from the head of the police, Beria, who as Khrushchev was reported to have said, "was clearly preparing a conspiracy against the Praesidium". Beria was arrested and eliminated in July, 1953. Meanwhile in the area of foreign affairs and industrial reorganisation Khrushchev and Malenkov were at loggerheads. The former, at that time insisted on building up the armed forces of the Soviet Union, and even speculated on the possibility of war, whether Khrushchev followed this line more to secure the loyalty to him of the armed forces or whether he did then believe in the immediate danger of war with the U.S.A. is not clear. However, this may be, Malenkov advocated a more peaceful approach to the West in general and to the U.S.A. in particular.

But this was not the only area of disagreement between Khrushchev and Malenkov. Malenkov was for restricting the expansion of the Russian heavy industries and Khrushchev refused to agree. In a speech to the plenary session, quoted by *Pravda*, February 3, 1955, Khrushchev said: "In connection with measures lately taken for increasing the output of consumer goods, some comrades have confused the question of the pace of development of heavy and light

industries in our country . . . These pseudo-theoreticians try to claim that at some state of socialist construction the development of heavy industry ceases to be the main task, and that light industry can and should overtake all other branches of industry. This is profoundly incorrect reasoning, alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism—nothing but slander of our Party. This is a belching of the Rightist deviation, a regurgitation of views hostile to Leninism, views that Rykov, Bukharin and their ilk once preached". Soon after this Malenkov "resigned" his chairmanship of the Council of Ministers and signed a letter confessing his "guilt in responsibility". The next antagonist, at this time, that Khrushchev had to deal with was Kaganovich, he was simply down-graded and lost all authority in the industrial planning of the State. It is significant, and points, perhaps, to Khrushchev's confidence in his own power, that he kept Malenkov and Kaganovic as members of the Party Praesidium.

Nevertheless, Khrushchev's troubles were by no means over. His revelations at the Twentieth Congress appeared to place the whole Soviet Bloc in danger, while the Hungarian rebellion in October and the unrest in Poland gave his Praesidium opponents sufficient matter to try and take Khrushchev to task, in 1957. Khrushchev's leadership was in question with regard to the break with Tito, the Hungarian uprising, and the troubles on the industrial front. Khrushchev withstood the storm, the details of which need not bother us, and which, in any case, are as usual obscure. In fact, the failure of the opposition to unseat Khrushchev only consolidated his power, and he swiftly moved forward to make his position still more secure. He reconstructed the membership of the Praesidium bringing in, among others, Brezhnev and Kozlov whose names now appear in the list of those who have risen to power on his fall!

### **Moscow-Peking**

The Twenty Second Party Congress which took place in October, 1961, gave Khrushchev an opportunity for a final settlement with the anti-Party group. But the going was not to be easy for him. Trouble was brewing within the



International Communist movement, and hence in the field of foreign policy the attitude of the Soviet State was still to be defined. At a meeting in Moscow about this time, 1960 Nov.-Dec., eighty-one communist parties met and put out a declaration which clearly was only a show of unity between Moscow and Peking, and as a proof of this, the strained relations between Moscow and Albania was significant. Indeed, this disunity in the communist world was further marked when the Chinese took Albania under their protection! This was a challenge to Khrushchev's leadership; if he left the challenge unanswered Soviet leadership was endangered; if on the other hand, he brought the struggle into the public view, there would be an open split in the communist world. Instead of a direct confrontation with the Chinese, Khrushchev directed his fire on the Albanians. Whatever he hoped for in doing this is not clear, but his strategy misfired, as was soon revealed in the Congress.

### **Khrushchev Speaks**

The first problem which Khrushchev faced at the Congress was to show how Communism could advance in the world without the risk of a nuclear war. He took the usual line insisting on the immense and growing military might of the Soviet Union and the weakness of the decadent West. While not ignoring the fact that the West could plunge the world into war "by an act of madness" he counted on the counsels of peace and reason in the Western camp to ward off the disaster. Perhaps, Khrushchev was also thinking of the desire for peace among his own peoples, or how else explain the fact that the news of the resumption of nuclear testing at this time, was withheld from them? However this may be, there were some among the Praesidium members who saw in Khrushchev's plan merely an excuse for inaction and a betrayal of the Communist revolutionary cause. Khrushchev was careful to refer to this in his speech of October 27 (*Pravda*, Oct. 29) to the Party Congress. He said, "Some accuse us of allegedly simplifying or softening our assessment of the international atmosphere when we emphasised the need

for peaceful co-existence under present conditions. We are told that he who insists on peaceful co-existence allegedly displays some kind of underestimation of the essence of imperialism and even sinks into contradictions with the Leninist assessment of imperialism". Then he continued to condemn those "hopeless dogmatists, who having learnt by heart the general formulae about imperialism, stubbornly turn away from life. It is such a position that the diehard Molotov still upholds. He and his kind do not understand the changes in the world atmosphere and the new phenomena in life. They follow in the wake of events and have long since become a brake and a ballast".

It is reasonably supposed that while Khrushchev was pointing a finger at Molotov he was actually aiming at the Chinese communists who had long since become suspicious of Khrushchev's belief that the imperialists could be defeated without a war. In fact, the Chinese had always held that Khrushchev's strategy with its long drawn out competitive struggle in the economic field, and the eventual peaceful surrender of the capitalist world was merely an illusion. They were also quick to spread their views in the international communist world and had, in fact, gained a measure of support from some Party Leaders. As is known, the Albanian Communists were already on the side of the Chinese since they resented the Russians' interference in their intra-Party disputes, and were critical of the de-Stalinization programme carried out by Khrushchev.

The Congress had hardly opened when signs of trouble appeared. The Albanian delegates failed to arrive. Then, in his report to the Central Committee, Khrushchev attacked the absent Albanian Party leaders. He denounced them (*Pravda*, Oct. 18) for departing from "the generally agreed line of the whole communist movement on the most important questions of modern times" and reviving Stalinist methods in Albania. Khrushchev's indictment was clearly aimed at both the Chinese and Albanian communist Parties. Nevertheless, it was phrased in general terms and seemed to express more sorrow than hate, and clearly left the door

open for further discussion with both the Albanians and Chinese.

### **Chou En-Lai Replies**

A couple of days later it was the turn of the Leader of the Chinese delegation to address the Congress. Chou En-Lai began by politely offering to all present greetings from the Chinese peoples, and even briefly praised the Soviet achievements, then he blasted Khrushchev's leadership of the Communist World. To his knowledge the Americans were "the most vicious enemies of peace", how then he asked, could Khrushchev express the hope of bringing about peaceful relations between the two nations without war? However, Chou En-Lai's most bitter attack was directed against Khrushchev's condemnation of the Albanian Communists (*Pravda*, Oct. 20). Chou said, "We hold that if a dispute or difference unfortunately arises between fraternal parties or fraternal countries, it should be resolved patiently in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and on the principles of equity and unanimity through consultations. Any public one-sided censure of any fraternal party does not help unity and is not helpful in resolving problems. To bare a dispute between fraternal parties or fraternal countries in the face of enemies cannot be regarded as a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude. Such an attitude will only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden our enemies. The Chinese Communist Party sincerely hopes that fraternal parties that have disputes or differences will unite afresh on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of mutual respect, independence and equality. This in my opinion is the position that we Communists ought to take on this question". The very next day, Chou left for home, and when he arrived at Peking he received a wonderful welcome from leading Chinese dignitaries.

### **Khrushchev Answers Chou En-Lai**

Meanwhile the Twenty Second Party Congress continued in session. Almost all speakers, except significantly, those from North Korea and N. Vietnam, continued to attack the absent Albanians. Khrushchev himself returned to the

attack in his reply to the now absent Chou (*Pravda*, Oct. 29). He said, "The leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Chou En-Lai, in his speech expressed anxiety over the matter of openly raising the question of the Albanian-Soviet relations at our Congress. As far as we understand it, the main thing in his speech was alarm that the present state of our relations with the Albanian Workers' Party might influence the cohesion of the socialist camp. We share the anxiety of our Chinese friends and appreciate their concern for the strengthening of unity. If the Chinese communists desire to apply their efforts to normalisation of relations between the Albanian Workers' Party, and the fraternal parties, then hardly any one can make a better contribution to the solution of this problem than the Communist Party of China. This would really benefit the Albanian Workers' Party and would correspond to the interests of the whole commonwealth of socialist countries". Peking, of course, took not the slightest notice of Khrushchev's suggestion, and went on its way to identify itself more closely with Albania.

### **Why Khrushchev Fell—Intra-Party Rivalry?**

Perhaps, it would be no exaggeration to say that at this Twenty Second Party Congress there were ominous signs that Khrushchev was heading for trouble in the near future on two accounts; firstly, within the Praesidium the anti-Khrushchev faction seemed to grow in strength, and secondly, the Chinese refusal to accept Soviet leadership in the world communist movement seemed to indicate his inability to bring about world communist unity on the principle of Marxism-Leninism. Whatever the theory of collective leadership and democratic centralism, in actual practice this system of Party rule is not easy to handle. During the dictatorships of Lenin and Stalin the theory was reduced to mere fiction, and both men surrounded themselves with the might of the secret Party police to hold in check any movement against them. This was one of the points which Khrushchev attacked when he revealed the crimes of Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress, and began the de-Stalinization process. Now, however, Khrushchev



had to face the same difficulties as his predecessors, but without the necessary power to deal with the anti-Khrushchev group! In fact, it would appear that Khrushchev has fallen a victim to the election rules which he introduced at the Twenty Second Party Congress. According to *Pravda*, Oct. 19, these changes were made to secure three results: (a) "to provide a guarantee against any recurrence of the cult of personality; (b) to open the way to the promotion of talented young people to leading Party posts; and (c) to enable the Party to root out leaders who organise "family circles" around them and engage in mutual concealment of shortcomings and mistakes in work". Obviously, the power which stems from these rules in the hands of a strong man in the Praesidium could be used to eliminate any opposition. It is significant that when these rules were made, Kozlov, whose name now appears in the anti-Khrushchev group is reported to have said, "It is essential to say that the principle of a systematic renewal of the Party organs is closely linked with the principle of the continuity of leadership . . ." Hence, all the more need of preventing the Party leader from having the power to bring in persons of his choice into office, a crime of which Khrushchev has been accused!

### **Communism vs. Nationalism**

If the principle of collective leadership supposedly violated by Khrushchev was one of the reasons which led to his downfall, his inability to bring about the unity of international communism, especially with reference to China was interpreted as calling in question the possibility of the conquest of the world by communism according to the principle of Marxism-Leninism. And there can be no greater sin in the world of Communist ethics! The fact, however, is that any Soviet attempt "to lead" a communist block which embraced China, was, in reality to run head long into a clash with Chinese nationalism. That it fell to Khrushchev to meet this clash was purely accidental, the same would have happened no matter who headed the Soviet Praesidium. The Soviet-Chinese rift, which is deeper than appears on the surface stems from the fact that

it is a clash between Russian expansion and Chinese nationalism. In fact, a careful survey of the expansion of Soviet Russia and Communism, clearly indicates that Nationalism, like Religion, is a force which time and again has refused to submit to International Communism which in reality is Russian Imperialism.

A true nationalist leader puts the freedom of his country above all other considerations. He can never consent to surrender the ideal of freedom for material and economic concessions. He is not impressed by the number of schools, hospitals or economic projects, or even the improvement of the standard of living in his country. He knows how dearly all this is bought! Perhaps, Yugoslavia and Albania were the first countries to prove that International Communism can make no headway against sound and healthy nationalism—in this case, Yugoslav and Albanian nationalism.

It is reasonable to expect that the Chinese, always a proud, ambitious, hard working and extremely intelligent nation, now enjoying a unity and growing military might, after years of social disorder, will not easily yield up their national freedom for any advantages which Soviet domination may promise them. Further, the Chinese nationalist expansion is, in itself, a further cause for deepening the rift between the two nations. An expression of this expansion is the Chinese effort to win back those territories which she lost to other nations in the days of her weakness; hence, her expansion into Tibet, and the border incidents along the Soviet-Chinese frontier. It follows, therefore, that if Khrushchev failed—and it could have happened to any other Soviet leader—to unite the world communist movement according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the failure is not his, but of a system that is completely false precisely because it fails to recognise the deeper and inner springs of human action, such as religion and nationalism which will not be sold for any purely materialistic mess of pottage.

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## INDUSTRIAL ANGLE

Dr. Jackson examines the short term plans of the government and finds them bad because they break treaty obligations, and may invite retaliation which would be disastrous. He further argues that they are inflationary, and will inevitably lead to substantial increases in taxation. The Conservatives have some claim to have originated them.

# A Start to the Hundred Days

J. M. JACKSON

THIS article is being written at the end of October. It is just twelve days since Mr. Harold Wilson took office as Prime Minister. The hundred days of dynamic decisions he promised have barely begun. By the time this article appears in print, half of the hundred days will have passed. Already the new government has announced its short term plans for dealing with the economic situation, and particularly with the balance of payments crisis. It has decided upon a very different approach from that followed by recent governments. It has rejected what has come to be known as the stop-go policy, and instead has imposed a 15 per cent surcharge on imports and a tax rebate for exporters.

The first proposals of the government have been surprisingly well received. I say surprisingly because the proposals are not particularly inspiring, and in some respects positively bad. They are none the better for the fact that the Conservatives have announced that they do not intend to oppose them in principle, and may also have some claim to have originated them. It is important,

therefore, that we should examine these proposals in some detail, and also look more closely at the stop-go policies that they are replacing.

### *Prosperity precarious*

We have, of course, grown accustomed to balance of payments crises. During the war, we sold a large part of our overseas investments and borrowed extensively abroad. At the end, we no longer had a large income from overseas which would pay for a large part of our exports. We had to rely upon our export earnings to pay for our imports. While we did succeed in increasing our exports substantially, we have never increased them to the point where we could rely on earning enough to pay for our imports. We have often found ourselves heavily in the red. At others, admittedly, we have had a surplus on the balance of payments, and been able to increase our reserves: but we have never been sure that this would last—and indeed, it has not lasted. The most serious danger has been that we would grow too accustomed to these crises. When we take stock, we cannot deny that as a nation we are vastly better off now than we were in 1951. For most people, the standard of living has risen tremendously. But although we have managed to improve our standard of living despite the recurrent crises, our prosperity has remained precarious.

It is not a simple matter to explain the recurrent difficulties we have encountered in our balance of payments. Part of the story is that our industries have not always been competitive. Inflation is part of the explanation of this. In recent years, inflation has been the result of excessive wage increases which have forced up costs and prices. Profits, to a lesser degree, may also have contributed to this upward movement of prices. Moreover, in periods of inflation, the home market is particularly attractive to manufacturers. There is a bouyant demand there, and goods that might have been exported are drawn into the home market. Our manufacturers are, in any case, somewhat reluctant to make a real effort to sell abroad. There are notable exceptions, of course, but the generalisa-



tion holds good. If home demands is really intense, home production may be inadequate and imports naturally increase to fill the gap.

### *Bank rate and reduced consumption*

In the recent past, governments have responded to a balance of payments crisis by trying to cut back home demand, and putting our economy into lower gear. The usual remedies have included putting up Bank Rate and other interest rates, and also trying directly to reduce consumption. Putting up interest rates may help in two ways. First it will attract foreign funds to London. This, however, is only a form of borrowing, and does not really solve anything. The increase in interest rates may also discourage investment by business men. The immediate result is fewer jobs for men building factories, making machinery to equip them and so on. Those thrown out of work or put on short time have less money to spend, so their demand for consumer goods falls. This, together with reductions in demand caused by increasing various taxes (particularly purchase tax), results in a sharp fall in demand and a rise in the level of unemployment.

With increased unemployment, aggregate incomes in the country are reduced, and therefore less is spent on a great many goods and services. This reduction in spending applies in part to imported goods, and so brings about an improvement in the balance of payments. The reduction in home demand may also release supplies for export, and so bring about an improvement from that side also. These restrictive measures do nothing, however, to bring about a fundamental improvement in our competitive position. Immediately, they improve the balance of payments, and a surplus may be achieved and the reserves restored, and borrowings repaid. The curtailing of investment delays the modernisation of our industries and the introduction of cost-reducing techniques, and tends, therefore, to make our competitive position worse rather than better. In time, the level of economic activity is allowed to increase again, and unemployment falls. Because our fundamental position has not improved, the balance of payments

inevitably deteriorates during the boom and eventually the green light gives way to red.

### *Objections to measures taken*

It may seem, therefore, that the time has come to try something else. If this is the case, what is wrong with the measures that the government announced at the end of October? The first objection is that even if other countries recognise that we had to do something drastic and refrain from retaliation, there is no escaping the fact that the particular measures chosen will be extremely unpopular abroad and in some instances will be interpreted as a flagrant disregard of treaty obligations. Secondly, the measures will in certain respects add to the costs of British industries and make it more difficult for them to compete abroad. Thirdly, the measures are inflationary, and no steps have been announced for dealing with the resultant inflation.

We are clearly facing a severe balance of payments deficit, even if the figure of £800 millions given by the government for the year proves in the event to be an overestimate. Somehow, therefore, we must find a way of reducing imports and/or increasing exports. Why then, should the method of putting a 15 per cent surcharge on imports (i.e. an additional duty equal to 15 per cent of their value at the port of arrival) be the wrong way of going about it? The answer is that, other things being equal, it is in many ways much simpler to impose an additional tariff in this way than to impose quantitative restrictions on imports. Quantitative restrictions involve a great deal of administrative work, and create a great deal of uncertainty. A consignment of goods may reach a port, only to find that the quota has already been filled. Nevertheless, the general spirit of the post-war world has been for lower tariffs and freer trade; and quantitative restrictions have generally been recognised as the permissible measure in an emergency.

### *EFTA and GATT*

We have been trying to develop a European Free Trade

Area. Like the European Common Market (the Labour Party's *bête noire*), EFTA is an attempt to create a large area of free trade in which manufacturers can enjoy the same kind of advantages as American manufacturers enjoy in their large home market. EFTA clearly states that certain tariff reductions are to be made by certain dates, though allowing quantitative restrictions in an emergency. It is difficult to see the government's argument that because the surcharge is temporary it does not infringe these provisions. Does the government mean that to break a treaty you have to intend to go on breaking it indefinitely, and that if you only intend to break it for a year or two you don't really break it? There is also GATT. Here we have negotiated tariff reductions which are wiped out overnight. At the moment, it seems that GATT may agree to wave Britain's obligations in view of the circumstances. It is, nevertheless, curious that the government should have chosen the path which was most likely to arouse resentment abroad instead of imposing quantitative restrictions which, although in some ways less convenient, would have had the same effect.

*If the measures chosen should provoke retaliation, the government's decision will have been disastrous.*

### ***Help to Exporters***

The measures to help exporters are perhaps less controversial. They do not amount in any real sense to a subsidy. All that the government intends to do is to refund to exporters part of the indirect taxation that they have to pay—duties on oils that they use, licence duties on their vehicles and so on. Measures of this kind are less likely than the tariff surcharges to arouse resentment and lead to retaliation.

The tariff surcharge applies to virtually all goods other than food and raw materials. The price of imported machinery will be raised, and this will clearly add to the costs of British manufacturers. It may not make a very great difference, but what difference it does make will be in the wrong direction. It is all very well for Mr. Wilson to say that we should be expanding our machinery produc-

tion, and breaking into new fields of machine making. Meanwhile, our manufacturers need machines NOW. The surcharge will make no difference unless it is retained as a protective tariff for a long period—and this is just what the government says it does *not* intend.

### *Proposals inflationary*

The third criticism I made of the proposals is that they are inflationary. At least, I do not so much object to the inflationary nature of the measures relating to imports and exports as to the lack of any indication of awareness of this character. It is true that the Ministers have admitted that the cost of living will rise, though it is claimed by less than one point. Even so, it may lead to some wage demands which must be resisted. *Where the cost of living rises as a result of government action of this kind, it is most emphatically not justification for a general round of wage increases.* This, however, is quite a minor point in relation to the inflationary nature of these proposals.

It is quite wrong to think of the plan in terms of switching home demand to British goods instead of imports and also encouraging some increase in exports. We are already in a state of full employment. There are no reserves of men or machines with which to increase home output, either to replace imports or to expand exports. Let us see what might happen as imports begin to fall with the imposition of the surcharge.

Imports fall. People who have stopped spending on imports will switch their demand to home produced goods. More men will be employed in the import-saving industries. These men will have more to spend, and so there is an increase in the output of the consumer goods industries, and a demand for more labour from them. If reserves of labour were available, this would be all very well. As there are not, it will simply mean that employers engage in a mad scramble for labour and bid up wages. A dangerous inflationary situation will be created. It is, of course, true that consumer spending on imported goods may rise. Our payments to foreigners will fall because fewer goods are imported at higher prices. The increase

in consumer expenditure, if it does occur, will be the result of duty paid to the government. This increase in taxation paid will tend to limit the increase in demand. Nevertheless, it may not increase on the scale required to prevent inflation. The more successful the surcharge is in keeping down imports, and the rebates in boosting exports, the greater is the inflationary pressure that will be generated.

### *Substantial tax increases*

This does not mean that the measures proposed are wrong. If we could have gone about things differently and got a measure of international agreement for our action (or used quantitative restrictions which would have had very similar effects), I would be in favour of something of this kind. Where the government has been less than honest with the electorate is in failing to warn them that substantial tax increases may be needed in a few months time as these measures take effect. Or perhaps the government have not yet foreseen the dangers of inflation! Taken in conjunction with the fact that the government has ambitious plans in a number of fields, substantial tax increases are almost inevitable, either when the Budget is presented in April or before.

The government is, it is true, planning a review of what it calls prestige projects. This is all very well. There is bound to be arguments about whether a particular project is for prestige or whether it is really useful. Opinions will differ very much on Polaris, for example. It will not help, however, to stop building Polaris submarines on the Clyde if there is an increased demand for labour in the Midlands and the South to help expand the production of washing machines and radios to replace imports of these products. And the same with many other projects.

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## *Renewal*

If you have not renewed your subscription for *Christian Order* please do so as soon as possible. Copies are now obtainable only through subscription.



What is a Secular Institute? What has the Church to say of psychoanalysis? Should I be in by 11 o'clock? Although nineteen, my parents insist that I should.

## Any Questions?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

### What is a Secular Institute?

IT is another way, fairly new in the Church, of living a life completely dedicated to God and therefore to charity, under the three vows that correspond to the evangelical counsels, but without the community life and the religious habit of the traditional orders and congregations.

There are many such Institutes, some for priests, some for laymen, some for laywomen. The members have a special training before taking vows, and they may return to a house of the Institute from time to time, for example to make retreats. But generally they live in their own house or flat or rooms and get on with their work. That might be collaboration with some form of Catholic Action: or it might be any kind of honourable job in one of the crafts or professions. Just as all Catholics are supposed to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world in social and professional life, and to minister grace, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God, so members of secular institutes must bring Christ into their surroundings, helped by their dedication and their life of prayer.

The purpose of such institutes is in a special way to reach those who would not respond favourably to priests or religious whose profession is made plain. Infiltration works better sometimes than direct assault. The practice may sound slightly dishonest: but there is no more obligation to proclaim oneself at once a member of a secular institute than there is to say one is a Catholic. The essential is to deserve respect in a profession and a society, and in that way to recommend a genuineness of religion. Dis-

closure of one's religion or one's status in a religion may be made later, if it would help the work of the Incarnation.

### **Has the Church given a ruling on psycho-analysis?**

**Y**ES. Pius XII made several statements about it; and under John XXIII the Holy Office issued an advisory note. The gist of them is that scientific investigation is to be encouraged, provided it is conducted with due regard for human dignity: that the beneficial effects of the treatment are most welcome: and that depth psychology could be valuable in religion: nevertheless a certain caution should be observed, because more is claimed for psycho-analysis than it is proved to possess. Those under obedience in the Church may not undergo psycho-analytical treatment without the permission of their bishop or religious superior.

The discovery of the unconscious, or rather the experimental demonstration of its existence by Freud, has led to a better understanding of human nature, and to techniques which can enable human beings to free themselves from burdens or at least carry them better, with greater self-possession and peace.

What the Church says about psycho-analysis should be related to psycho-analysis as it really is, and not to science-fiction caricatures. Popular contempt for it, as in phrases such as "trick cyclists" and "head shrinkers," or popular enthusiasm which thinks of it as the answer to all problems and a substitute for religion, or popular ignorance which thinks that psycho-analysts hold that "everything is sex" should not be allowed to discourage Christians from recognising what is good and helpful in psychoanalysis. Christians are not exempt from mental illness and disturbed personalities which sometimes need the kind of help which religion and the sacraments cannot give.

There is a keen interest in psychiatry amongst priests and religious, because of the light it can bring to pastoral work, including the discernment of vocations. The more priests and religious superiors know of the working of the human mind the better equipped they are for their task of helping human beings.

**“But I tell you that the man who puts away his wife makes an adulteress of her”. What fault is it of hers if her husband leaves her ?**

**C**ERTAINLY she is not an adulteress just because she has been abandoned. The passage in scripture makes it clear that there would be adultery only if the rejected wife “married again”. Our Lord’s teaching is that the bond of marriage is permanent and is not broken by divorce. The divorced pair are still husband and wife and they are incapable of valid marriage contracts with other partners. In contracts which are invalid, the union is adulterous.

The phrase “puts away his wife” belongs to Jewish society in Our Lord’s time. In these days it could be a wife who puts away her husband. The change results from what is generally called “the emancipation of women”, about which there are many modern misconceptions. It was a crying shame that wives could be divorced and sent back to their family just at the whim of husbands and Our Lord’s defence of the indissolubility of marriage was also a defence of women’s rights. But those rights cannot be preserved unless the divine order in the world is safeguarded by respect for the nature of human beings and their institutions. It is no emancipation for women to be free to disregard the nature of marriage, as men did and still do. There are plenty of marriages in which the human rights of the wife are denied and disregarded and divorce with the possibility of remarriage seems to ensure the enjoyment of those rights. But to admit the practice of breaking the bond of marriage is to weaken the bond whenever it exists, to banish the idea of the permanence of marriage, and to take away something of the stability of marriage everywhere. But human freedom especially for women and children, has to be based on stability and security.

**I once read in a newspaper that Our Lord would judge more strictly the sins of the spirit than the sins of the flesh: he often condemned the hardness of hear**

and hypocrisy of the Pharisees yet forgave the woman taken in adultery and Mary Magdalene. Is this correct?

**Y**ES, it is. But don't run away with the idea that the sins of the flesh are trivial. The phrase "the sins of the flesh" is misleading: in fact, one could be pedantic and say that it is nonsense, because any sin is necessarily an act of the will, which is spiritual. Sins are "of the flesh" because the expression of evil will is through the flesh. Our Lord did not say that adultery was not a sin. He was able to forgive that sin because the adulteress was sorry for her sin before God: he could not forgive the sins of the Pharisees because they deceived themselves with hypocrisy, hardened their hearts in pride, and were not sorry at all.

It could be that in what are called "sins of the flesh" there is more pressure on the sinner from weakness of character or physical temptation, so that the will is in confusion and not fully under control. Sins of the spirit also come from defects of character and from social and intellectual temptations: but they are not linked with the more clamorous passions, they are colder and more calculating, and they are usually more protracted. The will is therefore more itself than it is in the sins of the flesh, and more responsible.

Sins can rarely be just "of the flesh". They are a refusal to do the will of God by keeping his law and respecting human nature: they are often grossly selfish, and are committed at the expense of a partner who, willing or unwilling, is bound to be damaged. Even when they are prompted by love and seem to be a generosity they are an offence against charity which is the greatest of the virtues and the essential bond between human beings.

**Although I am now nineteen, my parents insist on my being home every night by 11 o'clock. What shall I do?**

**B**E in by 11.0 and be pleasant about it.

When you live in a household where you are not the boss, you have no choice but to accept the routine and

regime decided on by those in authority. You can't ask your parents to abdicate and let you take charge: nor can you expect to make your own decisions regardless, in matters which affect others and for which others have a serious responsibility. It is for parents to say what are the accepted times for getting up, having meals, and returning home. They also have a right to say where you may go and with whom.

But living at home is not the same as living in an institution like a college or a hostel: and a young woman of nineteen is not the same as a child. If you are at loggerheads or cross-purposes with your parents there is something seriously wrong, and probably both sides are to be blamed for it.

Do your parents know your friends? If they disapprove of them, have they good reason for doing so? Where do you go of an evening? Cinema, dances, clubs, pubs? Would you be anxious for a daughter of yours if she frequented the places you go to, in your kind of company, at the hours you want to keep? Do you get enough sleep? Do you spend enough time at home to contribute to family life, being company for people, and helping with the household chores?

Don't your parents make any exceptions, for example when you go to a dance or a party?

All your difficulties should be soluble in discussion between yourself and your parents. You have a right to be treated as an adult, but a duty to behave as an adult. Try talking things over: but examine your conscience first.

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## *Apostles?*

"Within the span of three generations the Communist movement travelled from the era of the Apostles to that of the Borgias."—Arthur Koestler.



# Turk Basha

CZESLAW JESMAN

**|** STRONGLY suspect that— all economics and politics apart—the non-Africans go to Africa in search of fairytales come true. Marco Polo, the Venetian, recorded seven hundred years ago that, near Mogadishu, the principal port of the Somali Coast on the north-eastern shore of Africa, he saw Roc, a bird so big that it could lift elephants in its claws. Marco Polo had a vivid and not quite truthful imagination. To-day, mythical birds are easily outclassed in load-carrying capacity and ceiling of flight by any run-of-the-mill super jet. Man-eating plants and one-legged and blue-coloured giants are no longer to be found in the African travellers' tales printed in the sensationalist press. Yet, the unexpected and the unpredictable keep on occurring in Africa against its endless horizons of primaeval desert and mountain, brushed only very lightly by western civilisation. True to form, I also had my share of the extraordinary; one of the most unexpected encounters with fate during my several years on that continent; and, curiously enough, not so very far from the Mogadishu of Marco Polo. For the last thing I could have hoped for was to be rescued in the tangled and practically unmapped high mountains of Shoa, in Southern Ethiopia, by a Yugoslav collector of butterflies by preference, and forester by trade. He also knew a lot about the Bogomils, how to make drinkable beer locally and practically everything there is to be known about the plants, animals and human beings of the tangled spur of thickly wooded mountains barring the road from Wolliso to Ambo, some hundred kilometres to the south of Addis Abbaba.

A word of explanation on conditions prevailing in Ethiopia would perhaps be appropriate at this juncture. It is a vast land, covering an area of more than seven hundred thousand square kilometres. Its variation is considerable. Large areas of cultivated land, particularly in the so-called Christian high-lands, the seat of an ancient civilisation

going back to old Egypt and Greece, are separated from each other by mountain ranges, deserts and sub-tropical forests where time stands still to this day. The Ethiopian Empire is still very sparsely populated with only some eighteen million inhabitants, a congerie of races and tribes, dissimilar in every respect except for a common allegiance to the imperial throne. The Italian invasion and second world war, though fought extensively over Ethiopian territory, have brought few changes. There are many places, including provincial capitals, to which one can get by 'plane of Ethiopian Air Lines, a TWA-operated government concession, in a few hours, whilst overland it often takes many days to get there.

Wolliso is a pleasant little settlement situated on the rim of the southerly incline of the Ethiopian highlands. The climate there is more temperate than on the harsh uplands around Addis Abbaba, the vegetation more luxurious and there are many hot mineral springs. It is a staging point on the road to Jimma, an ancient Moslem kingdom and currently an Ethiopian province. I arrived in Wolliso with the firm intention of eating tropical fruit off the trees and soaking myself in the sulphurous pond. But curiosity always leads one into predicaments. I was told that the abandoned trail across the mountain range barring the horizon to the north had been re-opened and that one could now reach Ambo, yet another pleasant watering place and an imperial summer residence, some five kilometres away as the crow flies. The jeep quickly covered the short distance to the foothills across the fields of "tef", a sort of local millet, and clumps of sycamore and acacia trees. Villages of "tukuls", round huts with pointed roofs, were full of screaming children and barking dogs. It was a rich, well tilled and populous area. Perhaps, because of it, the quick change in the landscape struck me so violently. The jeep suddenly emerged from a cactus grove into a mountain defile. It was a narrow road but it could still be negotiated.

Heedlessly we pressed on beyond a sharp turn of the mountain. Then, all of a sudden, we realised that we were

stuck in the wilderness: we could not turn the jeep round, while the track ahead of us was a sandy path meandering up a steep gravel slope. The ground was falling around us in sharp, thickly wooded, and almost perpendicular gradients. A panorama of steep peaks, precipices, and dark green forests opened in every direction. It was very still and cool and the shadows lengthened as the distant voices carried across the valleys already half obliterated in the rising mists.

As usual in remote corners of Africa, the presence of the unfamiliar—and we were unfamiliar all right—conjured up a quickly thickening concourse of indigenous and wide-eyed onlookers, out of what at a glance was an uninhabited desolation. Again, the difference from the agricultural plain was unbelievable. Instead of round-faced, gold-skinned and good-natured Galla peasants we saw around us mountaineers much darker in colour, with sharp features and speaking a dialect totally strange to us. It is a good policy to be friendly and conciliatory in a strange country. The difficulty this time consisted in making it plain that we were all that to the narrowing ring of unfamiliar faces. We wanted their help to extricate our jeep, before dark, and get to Ambo. What they wanted was pretty obvious and anything but pretty as far as we were concerned. All of a sudden they froze. From the babble of voices I gathered that somebody important was coming. Indeed he was. The ring divided and I thought that I was suffering from hallucinations. Suddenly, there stood in front of me a Montenegrin highland chieftain if ever there was one, down to the smallest picturesque detail of his national attire. He spoke to the men around us and they tripped over each other in the rush to obey his orders; huge poles were procured as if by magic and, in no time, the jeep, busted engine and all, was half hoisted, half dragged over the crest. The orders of our saviour were given in Serbian and, to our amazement, were understood.

Two hours later we were drinking slivovitz in his tukul. He was no apparition; far from it. He was a singularly

well informed, hospitable and charming forestry inspector. He had spent some two years already in Ethiopia and, since he never visited the capital, he found it easier to teach his neighbours his own language, at least up to a point, than to learn theirs. The many Yugoslavs at present working in Ethiopia endear themselves to the indigenous population who quickly sense their total lack of racial prejudice; the surest way to anybody's affection anywhere. The widely scattered Yugoslav specialists in Africa must of necessity be all sorts of things to all sorts of people and, in the first place, doctors; for all Europeans are presumed to be endowed with medical magic off the beaten track in Ethiopia. Consequently their ascendancy is considerable, particularly since the Ethiopian authorities suspect them of no political intrigues.

We slept in the hut of our host safe from hyenas, robbers, night ghosts and, most important of all, bed bugs. We set off for Ambo in the morning on uncomfortable donkeys.

As I thanked the inspector I could not resist asking him why he was wearing his national costume. "It's simple" he said, "It's an ideal attire for mountaineering; I like colour and my guards think it's highly ornamental. The only trouble is that the sage of a village three valleys away served in his youth in Constantinople of all places, and he insists on calling me 'Turk Basha'".

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## *Men of Intemperate Minds*

"... society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free".—Edmund Burke.

The following is a complete translation of the French version of a document published in Spanish in 1959 by the "Foreign Languages Publishing House, Peking, for the use of the Latin-American section of the Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party". It is intended to have particular reference to Cuba. This document sets out the successive stages of the "dialectical struggle within religion . . ." whose purpose is to "progressively replace the religious element by the Marxist" . . . "until Catholics reach the stage of destroying on their own initiative the divine images they themselves have created." It is published in *Christian Order* by permission of *Permanences*.

# At Work Against the Church

LEI NEI HAN

THE Catholic Church, with its headquarters at Rome, is a reactionary organisation which stirs up counter-revolutionary activities within the people's democracies. If the people's democracies are to continue to advance along the road to socialism and communism, the first necessity is to put an end to the influence of the Catholic Church and to its activities. The Catholic Church is neither impotent nor sterile—quite the contrary—and we must recognise its power and initiate a whole series of measures to hold it in check.

When the political struggle and the productive forces have reached a certain level, we shall then be in a position to destroy the Church. This is the long-distance objective



towards which we are working. But to launch a frontal attack on the Church while we are still insufficiently equipped and before we have suitably educated the masses would be a serious error. It would give the Church an even greater hold over the masses, who would sympathise with it and support its counter-revolutionary activities. Another error to be avoided is to allow the counter-revolutionary leaders of the Church to appear as martyrs. The proper line of action to take is to teach, educate, persuade and convince Catholics, gradually awakening and developing them politically by enrolling them in study groups and encouraging them to take part in political activities. We must implant the dialectical struggle in the heart of religion by means of "activists"—militant communists. We must progressively replace the religious element by the marxist, transforming a false awareness into a true one, until Catholics reach the stage of destroying on their own initiative the divine images they themselves have created. Such must be our line in the struggle for victory over the counter-revolutionary Catholic Church.

Further on we shall set out the tactical programme adopted with such success by the Chinese People's Republic to liberate the Chinese people from the imperialist Catholic Church of Rome.

### *A Special Bureau*

The Church and its members must be brought to play a part in the people's regime, so that the masses can bring influence to bear on them. The Church must not be allowed to preserve its supra-national character as something above and independent of the will of the masses. We must create within the apparatus of the popular regime a special bureau whose task is to supervise religious matters and religious organisations. By making the Church subject to the processes of democratic centralism we open the way, via the masses, to patriotic measures that will weaken the Church and undermine its prestige. Such a bureau will organise national, regional and local associations, grouping Catholics in patriotic bodies and societies. Each

association will lay stress on its loyalty to the nation and its laws, and its firm intention to obey those laws.

It is at this point, when such bodies have been set up and have publicly proclaimed their obedience to the laws of the nation, that the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries will show their hand. These counter-revolutionaries thrown up by the Catholic body must be the first to be firmly stamped out (*Note: French text here uses equivalent of 'extirpated'*), although violence should not be used. In all cases, the measures we take should be in accordance with the law. By their very nature counter-revolutionary aspirations inevitably lead to anti-government acts. This principle tells us what sort of laws we must apply against those who protest. They must be treated as anti-patriotic criminals obeying the imperialist orders issued by the head-quarters of the Catholic Church, i.e. the Vatican City.

During this period the mass of believers will undergo a psychological conflict, torn between their loyalty to the Church and the clergy on the one hand and their patriotic desire to support the people's government on the other. This conflict is worth studying in depth so as to draw the right conclusions from it. If one acts too precipitately, forgetting how acute the psychological conflict is, one runs the risk of isolating the party from the masses. Where the masses are still closely linked to the Church, we must follow the principle of "two steps forward, one step back". In making the "step back" the people's government must assert that it is defending religious freedom and that it is by the will of the masses that the government is setting up reform committees within the (religious) associations, so that the patriotic masses can have a more direct say in the running of Church affairs.

### *Obey the Law*

We must be vigilant. The work of the reform committees must be directed by militant party members, and these must take care to isolate any reactionaries among the masses and rob them of their influence. For this task, the following slogans must be applied:

—It is patriotic to support the government and obey the law.

—Disobedience is unpatriotic.

—(Religious) Societies should make a public affirmation of their patriotic sentiments.

—Unpatriotic elements must be expelled from the associations and judged as criminals by the patriotic masses, for it is every citizen's duty to punish criminals.

—The task of the party activists is to lead the masses against the criminal elements. Once the masses have condemned the criminals and expelled them from the associations they can be judged according to the laws of the people's government. At the same time the associations must renew their profession of obedience to the law and must make fresh efforts to unmask hidden counter-revolutionary activities in their midst.

Although the reactionaries have been unmasked, the psychological conflict among the mass of believers must be kept up. It is important for the ecclesiastical authorities and leaders of the Church to assure the masses that the faith has become purer now that it has been purged of criminal and unpatriotic elements. Party militants who are members of these religious associations have the important task of persuading Church leaders to make such declarations. Our militants must also assure the masses that the government and party are merely doing what they (the associations) have demanded. Of course, other disagreements will arise at this stage. If we act in an arbitrary manner, we risk losing control of the movement of the masses. The people's government must encourage full and free discussion of all the disagreements that may arise. We must use the opportunity of these discussions to discover and unmask any counter-revolutionaries who have not so far shown their hand. During this stage, as in the preceding one, the same slogans apply:

—it is patriotic to obey the laws.

—disobedience is unpatriotic and criminal.

One must also keep the masses informed of the results of negotiations between the state and the Church, as well

as on the rebirth of patriotism among the believing masses; in this way we shall help to substitute a feeling of patriotism for the old decadent, imperialist and unpatriotic sentiments. Except for spiritual matters, any expression of solidarity with the Vatican must be branded as shameful, since it must be motivated by imperialist interests and must be in favour of counter-revolutionary activities. The experience of our brother countries proves that the Catholic Church has always supported counter-revolutionary activities. Given the world-wide extent of the Catholic Church, this experience provides incontrovertible proof of its conspiracy. During this stage we can expect the Vatican to protest against our campaign. Such protests must in their turn be used as further proofs of the Church's plot, directed from the Vatican City.

### *Separate Church and Vatican*

This brings us to the next phase of our attack, the object of which is to cut the link binding the Church to the Vatican City. It is only to be expected that at this point the clergy will react violently, feeling themselves attacked at the essential point, the actual source of their power. We must remind them that we are attacking them because of their attachment to the Vatican, that this attachment is in itself unpatriotic, and that hence so are their protests against our attacks. Our party militants must convince the masses that it is possible for an individual to keep his religion without the Vatican City controlling the affairs of all the churches throughout the world. At the same time our militants must explain the principle on which peaceful coexistence between patriotism and religion is possible. Thus we can isolate from the mass of believers those who follow the orders of the Vatican, and open the way to the establishment of an independent Church.

A thorough campaign of preparation is necessary before an independent church can be proclaimed. Leading clerics whom we have been unable to persuade to submit to the will of the people's government must be denounced before the masses. Their protests can be exploited as a means to destroy their influence over the believers. The best tactics

to use here are very simple and anonymous moves. Our militants must launch denunciations against such clerics. History is full of examples of successful legal action taken against those who oppose the separation of Church and Vatican. During this stage one must marshal all the arguments necessary to convince Catholic intellectuals that a break with the Vatican is a step forward and not a step back. The fact that the people's government has enacted laws guaranteeing freedom of worship to all religions, and the history of the various Protestant movements, will both help to convince these intellectuals. At the same time our militants will have the task of bringing various Catholic societies to the point where they will unite to make a joint request to the people's government for permission to set up an independent Church so as to cleanse the Catholic societies from any stain of lack of patriotism due to the few elements still subservient to the Vatican. The people's government will grant this authorisation and an independent church will be organised. We must bear in mind that such a break between the Catholic Church locally and the Vatican has no importance for anyone apart from theologians. The masses, in their religious life, have only very tenuous links with the Vatican.

### *Selection and Consecration of Bishops*

We now arrive at the last stage. Once the separation of the Church from the Vatican is complete, we can proceed to the consecration of Church dignitaries chosen by ourselves. This will provoke the very strongest protests from the Vatican, which will place (the independent church) under a major excommunication. We must convince the mass of believers that this struggle is a remote matter that does not affect them personally. The Catholic associations will continue to function and the masses will be encouraged to continue to practise their religion within the new church. If we act with tact and wisdom, changing nothing in the forms of worship, the mass of believers will notice very little difference in the new church; the Vatican's protests against the consecration of bishops will affect only the hierarchy, and the people's government will, of



course, rebut the Vatican's charges. Little by little we shall succeed thus in isolating the pro-Vatican "old guard". Once they are isolated, it will become progressively easier to take justified legal action against them, for they will feel a violent need to protest and to play the martyr. In consequence of this attitude, they are bound to compromise themselves by unpatriotic activities.

Although we shall by this time have already won in our struggle against the Catholic church, we must still use persuasion in our handling of the rearguard of the clergy. This moderation will convince the masses that the people's government is sincere in its intention of maintaining religious freedom for all. And at the same time the protesters are forced into a position of opposition to the wishes of the people and of the government.

Once the moment has come when all the responsible ecclesiastical posts are in our hands and submissive to the people's government, we can proceed to weed out, one by one, the elements of the liturgy that are incompatible with the popular regime. The first changes will affect the sacraments and prayers. Next we shall pass legal measures to protect the believing masses against all pressures designed to force them to attend at church, to practice their religion or to organise themselves in societies representative of particular religious organisations<sup>(1)</sup>. When the practice of religion has become no more than a private affair for each individual, it gradually dies out, as we all know. New generations take the place of the old, and religion ends by being an episode in the past, something just worthy of mention in the history of the world communist movement.

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(1) In the original Spanish: "... a organizar grupos colectivos representando cualquiera secta religiosa".

# Book Review

## MYSTICAL BODY OF ANTICHRIST

**Dedication and Leadership Techniques** by Douglas Hyde; Mission Secretariat, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.; pp. 125; \$2.

THE Communists have come a long way. In forty-seven years they have taken one-third of the world. What this means in terms of individual lives can be put very plainly. Out of every hundred people living on this earth thirty have their lives dominated by communist governments. All this has been accomplished in less than half a century. One is entitled to doubt whether in the whole history of the world there has ever been a missionary effort to compare with this. Neither have we seen its end. Much more is threatened. I am writing these lines in Central Africa. To the North, in the Congo, communist inspired rebellion is barely being contained. It is touch and go whether or not that vast country will be turned, in a matter of months, into a giant base for the subversion of a continent. To the East, in Tanganyika, there are doubts as to the ability of President Nyerere's regime to digest Zanzibar. It could be that the island segment of the recently federated Republic will take the mainland under communist control. Success here and in the Congo would bisect Africa and leave it wide open to domination by the forces of Chinese Communism. Those who doubt are invited to take a long, cool look at the map of Africa and think again. They should realise, as they do so, that the softening-up process is already in train on either flank of the huge Congo-Tanganyika complex. The next few years may see catastrophe, with the red tide lapping the shores of the southern Mediterranean. It was Lenin who said that the road to Paris lay through Peking. Lenin was no fool.

Neither is it a matter only of Africa. South America may well be even more seriously threatened. Below their placid surface, the West Indian islands are simmering

much more than most people realise. Castro's Cuba is a base for subversive effort throughout the Caribbean, and the South and Central American mainland. Everywhere throughout this vast geographical complex Castro himself is the hero of students and workers. The image of the Church, one feels, is improving at a pace far too slow to check the present enthusiasm for this century's red Bolivar. At the same time, over on the other side of the world, India already has been badly slashed by a brilliantly executed Chinese communist attack; South-East Asia is weakening; Malaysia is under fire from an aggressive Indonesia whose Communist Party is 2,000,000 strong. Never before in history have the frontiers of the free world been subjected to such deadly pressure. And not only the frontiers. In every one of the areas under consideration, it is the enemy within that is doing the major damage. In far too many cases, the countries that go down are as good as taken before the communist troops cross their frontiers. All these do, as often as not, is to put formal seal on an already accomplished fact. The hidden enemy is the major factor in the cold war struggle of to-day.

Under the circumstances, it is a matter not merely of interest, but of desperate urgency to discover the factors that have given the enemy within such a fantastic degree of success in so short a time. Never before, in the whole history of the world, have so few subverted so many. How have they been enabled to do this ?

The book under review is of immense value because it leaves us in no doubt as to the answer; and the answer is undoubtedly correct. Douglas Hyde was a Communist for twenty years before his reception into the Church in 1948. He spent the best years of his life in the Party. He has spent the sixteen years since working without a stop to check the ugly thing he and his communist comrades worked to let loose on the world. History, I think, will record the verdict that his has been one of the most magnificent single-handed efforts that this century has seen. Hyde has studied at first hand both sides of the medal; the communist effort and the Catholic counter-thrust.

He is, therefore, in a unique position to assess the relative value of both, to tell Catholics, in view of the great strides made recently by Communism, where they are deficient in their attempts to cope with its onrush. The answer is devastating in its simplicity. It is what I have found in my own experience. I am sure it is absolutely right. What the Communists have and what we Catholics have not is effective dedication to an ideal. For the Catholic Faith means personal observance undertaken very often with great devotion; for the Communist it means a world to conquer. The whole difference lies there. It explains why, at the moment, Communism is conquering the world.

We are not saying here that Catholics lack dedication, only that it is narrowly confined. It is without the kind of dynamic that sets it in the direction of world conquest. The reason for this is, I think, clear. Catholics lack an effective dynamic because no one has seen fit to give it to them. The time for the initial stages of the attempt to be set in motion is probably at school, yet it is true to say that the subject worst taught at the majority of Catholic schools is still, in all probability, religion. Even now, in most Catholic schools, little attempt is made to relate religion to life in significant fashion; school-leavers are left without any real idea of the Church as possessed of a body of principles related to the public and political life of their countries, and meant to be taken by them into the secularist world in which their lives are set. For most Catholics, knowledge of their religion ceases at the age of eighteen. They are left for the rest of their lives with a list of observances to cling to as a pledge of ultimate salvation. This, at least, is how it appears to many of them. Is it to be wondered at that very few are prepared to devote every spare moment of their lives to the promulgation of such an outlook? It is not that Catholics are wanting in courage or generosity; simply that a faulty presentation of the Faith has robbed it of dynamic and left the faithful without the inclination to give it to others.

The Communist, by contrast, is taught from the first moment of his indoctrination that he is confronted with a

world for the conquering of which no sacrifice can be too great. Hyde quotes from a briefing given to the Vietnamese communist troops before the storming of Dien Bien Phu, the last French stronghold in what was then French Indo-China. It is a piece of writing magnificent in its stark simplicity. It tells them that they will die and that, as they go to their death, they will be crawling over the bodies of their comrades who have gone before them. They are not to fear death, however, because, through dying, they will contribute to the communist conquest of the world. The whole tone and spirit of the communiqué are not untypical of the kind of motivation placed by communist leaders in front of their followers wherever they may be and in whatsoever walk of life they may find themselves. It is with this sort of a gesture that they will send new recruits to the Party out to sell the *Daily Worker* in the pouring rain or work up their followers to make one supreme and sacrificial effort after another to gain the victory in trade union elections. For the Communist, knowledge is not an end in itself: its only value lies in its role as a means to effective action. "The philosophers have only tried to explain the world", said Marx, "the job, however, is to change it". The self-confidence implicit in these words is typical of the dynamic that has led the Party in less than a half-century to so many conquests in so many different parts of the world. Every member of the Party—precisely because of his membership—is dedicated to give his all to the winning of the world. This is idealism perverted to serve the cause of Antichrist. The thing to remember is that it is idealism and that idealism, wherever it be found, is a thing to be admired. Douglas Hyde is at his best when he proceeds to explain this. The material on which Communism works is not that of the misfit or the crook. Its recruits so often are those who come hungry for ideals and it is no coincidence that, amongst those who come, are many lapsed Catholics. These are driven to Communism precisely because, in their rejected Church, they have been starved of the idealism that should have been placed before them. We can never



condone their action. We should at least try to understand and take its lesson to heart. It is a great tragedy that so many Catholics who teach to-day in whatever capacity should take so poor a view of the human beings consigned to their care; that they should starve them of ideals and make a hum-drum thing of a religion that should set the world on fire. Small wonder that they should lose many and that, of these, the best, in many cases, should make their way into the ranks of the Communist Party. Amongst these Catholics turned Communists you will find an idealism which, no doubt, was in the mind of a Catholic friend of mine, once a Communist, who gave me the best description of Communism I have ever heard. He called it the Mystical Body of Antichrist.

It would be wrong to think that the Author of this book spends the whole of his time stressing the need for dedication to the exclusion of everything else. I would not blame him if he did, if only for the fact that most Catholics are still quite unable to grasp its all-pervasive significance. But Hyde has much to say in these pages not only of the need for dedication, but also of the methods that must be used to inculcate it and set it to good purpose. They need to be thought on and followed, especially at a time like the present when the impact of Communism is so menacing and the reaction of Catholics to its threat—especially in the developing countries—so often like that of frightened sheep. Paternalism, I sometimes feel, has almost killed them. Every effort has been made to protect them from the world. Only recently are small groups of them being taught to overcome it. Those groups are our hope.

I can but urge those who recognise the communist threat to-day to buy this book and make its contents their own. The great need now is for Christian cadres to close with those that are communist inspired and destroy their doctrine. Real men are required for this task and their spirit can only be one of complete dedication determined to undertake any sacrifice to make Christ reign in the world. This is the message of the best book Douglas Hyde has given us since *I Believed*. It is time we took it to heart.

Paul Crane, S.J.

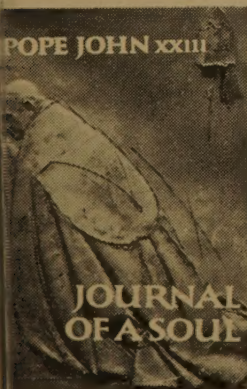
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*"I am a servant, nothing more. I have nothing of my own, not even my life. God is my master, absolute master over life and death . . . This must be my task, my whole life long, because I was born for this, I am a servant." (1902).*

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